

BUSH AND GORBACHEV

SIGN MAJOR ACCORDS

ON MISSILES, CHEMICAL

WEAPONS AND TRADE

MOOD OF OPTIMISM

But Issues of Germany and the Baltics Still Face the Leaders

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WASHINGTON, June 1 — President Bush and President Mikhail S. Gorbachev today consolidated the gains of their new relationship by signing the broadest Soviet-American understandings in two decades, including commitments to cut stockpiles of long-range nuclear arms and to eliminate most of their chemical weapons.

Mr. Bush unexpectedly signed the trade treaty that Mr. Gorbachev had been hoping to take back to a restive and hungry nation, even though the Soviet Union has not yet carried out a promise to enact emigration laws that are the condition for removing long-standing restrictions on tariffs and loans to Moscow.

To avoid a confrontation with Congress, American officials said, Mr. Bush told Mr. Gorbachev that he would not send the pact to Congress or move to grant preferential tariffs until the emigration law had been enacted. The Soviet President had held up an agreement on long-term grain sales to get the trade pact in his pocket.

Lithuania Is an Issue

Mr. Bush apparently set aside his concerns about Lithuania in signing the trade treaty. But Secretary of State James A. Baker 3d said tonight that it would be very difficult to get the treaty through Congress or to lift the restrictions on Soviet trade as long as the standoff persisted between Moscow and Lithuania over the Baltic republic's demand for independence.

At a ceremony replete with the power and majesty of superpower summitry, Mr. Bush and Mr. Gorbachev appeared in the East Room of the White House and sat at a table where treaties have been signed since 1898.

With the hammer-and-sickle flag at Mr. Bush's elbow and the stars-and-stripes flag at Mr. Gorbachev's, and dozens of senior American and Soviet officials seated before them, the two leaders also signed or announced a series of agreements covering topics including nuclear testing, grain sales, student exchanges, scientific and technical cooperation, civil aviation and maritime transportation. [The text of the statement on missiles and summaries of other accords are on page 8.]

Strong Flavor of Optimism

In some ways, the two Presidents were carrying on work started in an earlier era, a cold-war agenda initiated by Presidents over the past two decades before the emergence of democracy ripped asunder the postwar military and political structures of Europe.

The two leaders infused the event with a strong flavor of optimism, of two nations once adversaries and now striding together into a new era.

"Not long ago, some believed that the weight of history condemned our two great countries, our two great peoples, to permanent confrontation," Mr. Bush said. "Well, you and I must challenge history."

Mr. Bush declared, "We may not agree on everything, indeed we don't agree on everything. But we believe in one great truth: the world has waited long enough, the cold war must end."

Mr. Gorbachev, who quoted from Franklin D. Roosevelt's "Four Freedoms," spoke in his turn of "building a new civilization."

Glancing at his formal surroundings,

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Summit Meeting Yields Pacts on Arms

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Mr. Gorbachev said, "This room has seen many important events and agreements signed, but I think that what has happened now represents an event of momentous importance, not only for our two countries but for the rest of the world."

The first phase of the summit meeting came to a formal end after two days of talks and was remarkable for its sheer numbers: about 15 agreements, protocols and joint statements were signed this evening in the White House.

Weekend Talks at Camp David

Mr. Bush and Mr. Gorbachev will continue their talks on Saturday at Camp David, the Presidential retreat in the Catoctin Mountains of Maryland.

Mr. Gorbachev had a chance to revel in the respect of the American President and in the adulation of Americans, receiving a series of awards today at the Soviet Embassy, taking another of his trademark strolls through downtown Washington and spending 90 minutes bantering with the leaders of Congress. The day ended with a dinner at the Soviet Embassy where Mr. Gorbachev paid tribute to Andrei D. Sakharov, the dissident whom Mr. Gorbachev freed from years of internal exile within the Soviet Union. The Soviet President called the late dissident a person "ahead of his time."

The two leaders had the chance to carry through on some of the promises they made at their first summit meeting in Malta last year. They signed an agreement outlining a treaty that would reduce by 30 percent the two countries' stockpiles of nuclear missiles that can span the oceans, called on their negotiators to finish the actual treaty by year's end and agreed to a whole new round of nuclear disarmament talks.

Vast Cuts in Poison Gas

They also agreed to make vast cuts in their stocks of poison gas weapons, reducing them by about 80 percent, and pledged to work toward a worldwide ban on chemical weapons.

But the pomp was shadowed by the larger problems already testing the new superpower comity — the future of Europe and its shaky military alliances. The signing ceremony today marked only the start of what may be the hardest work, the talks at Camp David, which are expected to focus on Germany and European security issues.

For today, Mr. Bush and Mr. Gorbachev glossed over their differences with a vague commitment to accelerate the effort to conclude a treaty on conventional, or non-nuclear, weapons by the end of the year.

The leaders agreed that the treaty is "essential to the future stability and security of the continent," but they offered no new formulas for resolving their technical differences or their



Secretary of State James A. Baker 3d, left, conferring yesterday with Eduard A. Shevardnadze, the Soviet Foreign Minister. With them at the Soviet Embassy was an interpreter, at right.

more sweeping disputes over the future of the Germans and the Continent's military alliances.

Mr. Baker said tonight that the two leaders had made no progress in resolving their differences over Washington's insistence that a united Germany must remain a full member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

Some Issues Unresolved

The joint statement on strategic nuclear weapons, those with a range of more than 3,000 miles, suggested that the two sides had not been able to resolve several important issues on which they had been working frantically over the last week, including a last-minute conference this afternoon between Foreign Minister Eduard A. Shevardnadze and Secretary of State Baker.

These disputes involve American demands for further limits on the production of the Soviet Union's SS-18, its big-

**The broadest
U.S.-Soviet deals
in two decades
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gest intercontinental missile, questions about the treaty's handling of mobile launchers for intercontinental missiles and on missiles that carry more than one nuclear charge.

The statement outlined the framework of a treaty that would make the first actual cuts in the number of nuclear warheads that each side has put into ballistic missiles, nuclear bombs dropped by aircraft and the jet-propelled, pilotless weapons known as cruise missiles.

Previous agreements simply sought

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to put caps on the growth in such arsenals. The treaty has been presented as a 50 percent reduction in long-range nuclear arms, but that is somewhat misleading.

It does provide for a roughly 50 percent reduction, to 4,900, in the number of warheads deployed on intercontinental missiles, the weapons that the United States considers to be the most threatening.

Rules Are Complex

But the rules for counting and reducing other kinds of weapons are extremely complex and there are a number of uncertainties in the treaty that will provide for smaller reductions than 50 percent.

For example, an aircraft that drops nuclear bombs is counted as having only one charge, or "warhead," aboard even though it actually carries many more weapons. The treaty also does not place any formal limits on cruise missiles launched from ships and submarines.

In the statement on future negotiations on strategic arms, the Americans won a provision speaking of possible steps to further constrain the biggest missiles, a response to conservative critics of the current agreement. Moscow is likely to use the statement to press its demands that American sea-based missiles be subject to further limits.

Doubts on Chemical Accord

Some critics have contended that the chemical weapons agreement signed today is flawed, because of verification problems and because the Soviet Union lacks the equipment to actually destroy the weapons. But it is a significant step toward eliminating poison gas from Soviet and American weapons stockpiles.

The agreement calls for the countries to begin destroying chemical weapons in 1992, eliminating half of their stockpiles by the end of 1999. By 2002, stocks are to be no more than 5,000 metric tons, or about 20 percent of the current American stores of poison gas agents. The exact size of the Soviet arsenal is not known.

The document also reaffirms Mr. Bush's previous commitment to cancel production of a new generation of chemical weapons. The Soviet Union says it has stopped producing chemical arms.

An 'Agreement,' Not 'Treaty'

The accord was deliberately not cast as a treaty. Under the Constitution, a formal treaty would require the Senate's advice and consent to ratification, with approval by a two-thirds majority. In this case, Mr. Bush and Mr. Gorbachev signed an "agreement" that will require only a simple majority in each house.

The only other arms control agreements signed at the summit meeting today were two documents outlining verification for old treaties limiting the

size of underground nuclear explosions. Those treaties have not been ratified, but have been observed by both sides.

The final working day of the summit meeting saw Mr. Gorbachev plunge once again into his single-handed public relations campaign.

For the second day, he screeched up to a Washington curbside in his limousine. Diners streamed onto a restaurant balcony. Sirens wailed. Men in business suits ran down the sidewalk as Mr. Gorbachev shook hands on both sides of the street.

Some Flashes of Annoyance

But when he seemed to feel pressed, there were flashes, too, of iron will and resentment of what he calls meddling and preaching by the West.

For 90 minutes this morning, in a gilt room in the Soviet Embassy, Mr. Gorbachev lectured leaders of Congress on his country's economy, on his programs for reform and on his policy toward the movement by the Baltic republics to leave the Soviet Union.

When Senator Bob Dole, the minority leader, complained about Moscow's battle with Lithuania, which declared independence March 11. Mr. Gorbachev fired back with a gibe on the invasion of Panama. His smile faded again when Representative Richard Gephardt, the House majority leader, referred to a promised new Soviet law on free emigration and the American desire to link that bill to American-Soviet trade relations.

"When we hear there is a debate in Congress about our affairs, about our legislation, about what we should do or not do, well, then this is resented in our society," Mr. Gorbachev said. "This is a matter of dignity. This is a matter of prestige. This is a matter of sovereignty and national dignity."

Benefit to China Noted

During the discussion about giving the Soviet Union most-favored-nation trade status, Yevgeny M. Primakov, member of Mr. Gorbachev's Presidential Council, interjected that Mr. Bush had recently recommended extending favored tariff treatment to China for another year, despite the crackdown on political dissent and the violence in Tiananmen Square last year.

"What should we do for you to give us M.F.N.?" he asked. "Maybe we should introduce martial rule in the Baltic and at least fire some rounds."

In the afternoon, Mr. Gorbachev received four awards from American organizations: the Franklin D. Roosevelt International Four Freedoms award from the Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt Institute, the Martin Luther King International Peace Award from Friends World College, the Man of History Award from the Appeal of Conscience Foundation and the award of the Albert Einstein Peace Prize Foundation.

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